1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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daily tasks, whether on their own *milpas*[1] on the margins of the town or in *haciendas*, mills, or mines still farther away, the male inhabitants scatter outside the village, returning at the end of the day, the week, or the season. But while the villagers live by agriculture, the village lives by trade. It is essentially a market, and the central *plaza*, where occur the periodic markets attended by people from other villages and where are situated all the public buildings and the private dwellings of size and importance, dominates and affords a focus for the town. The village, like Mexico itself, has a center and a periphery.

The state of Morelos lies upon the southern escarpment. It is the only state which lies entirely upon the slope; it forms one steep stairway up to the tableland. It is a small state, about the size of Delaware, but in its brief extent there is a descent of eight thousand feet. Its northern margin, the Sierra of Ajusco, which forms the southern rim of the great central basin, is a region of pine forests, chill winds, and charcoal-burners, while in the southern part of the state are tropical lowlands which produce coconuts and malaria.

Although only a small part of the state contains arable land,[2] nevertheless among the steep confusion of the mountains there are many sloping valleys which contain good soil and either receive sufficient rain or are watered by streams which arise in higher and wetter regions.

[1] Small agricultural tracts cultivated by individuals for their own benefit.

[2] About 10 per cent, according to Francisco Bulnes, *The Whole Truth about Mexico*, p. 88.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

quarrels and many political struggles within the municipio and the village. Most of the monte is in *tierra fría*. Here the rainy season begins a few weeks earlier than in the lower regions, and the atmosphere is more humid because of the low hanging clouds. Here the soil is porous and unsuitable for adobe.

Most of the houses are therefore made of cane, straw, or wattle, and the majority of the roofs are made of wooden boards instead of tile as in Tepoztlán. Wooden boards are also put on the floor by those who can afford them for protection against the damp and cold. In the village of San Juan, which is in this region, corn is planted earlier, ripens later, and is less subject to the ravages of insects than in Tepoztlán

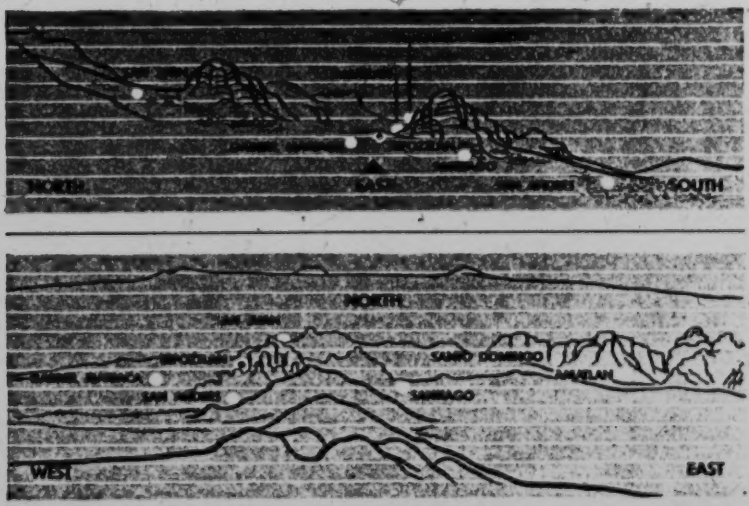

Fig. 3. Altitude of Tepoztlán and surrounding villages.

and the lower, warmer villages. Here there are no coffee trees, no hog plum, no banana, nor other tropical and semi-tropical fruits. But unlike the other villages, a little wheat, barley, lima beans, and some potatoes may be grown in San Juan. Also, *capulín*, *tejocote*, peaches, pears, and other fruits grow much better than in Tepoztlán and the lower villages. Furthermore, San Juan has no malaria.

The southern half of the municipio is divided into two parts by a ridgelike chain of hills or *cerros* which extends from the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán and continues south to divide the entire state of Morelos into its two major topographic regions, the valley of Cuernavaca and the valley of Amilpas. Within the municipio of Tepoztlán the large area of land to the west of this divide slopes gently to the southwest where it merges with the valley of Cuernavaca. This region contains the greater portion of the arable land of the municipio; and two villages, Gabriel Mariaca and San Andrés, are located here. Here, too, is the land known as

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texcal, an area covered with volcanic rock and a thorny scrub forest with a predominating flora of copal gum, mimosalike legumes, a tree "sweet potato," and silk cotton trees.[8] *Texcal* covers a strip of land approximately two kilometers wide on the eastern limits of the municipio and constitutes about ten per cent of the total land area of the municipio. To the east of the divide is an area of rounded hills covered with scrub forest. These lands are known as *terrenos cerriles*. The predominating flora is *vera blanca*, *agualisca*, and scrub oak. Both the hill land and the land of the divide itself are used for grazing and for the planting of corn by the primitive cutting and burning method; and the trees from the cleared land are used for firewood. The villages of Santiago and Ixcatepec are located in the lower levels of this area, and the villages of Amatlán and Santo Domingo are found in pockets in the mountain chain which forms the eastern boundary of the municipio.

In viewing the land resources and types of land use in the municipio as a whole, we find there are five distinct types according to Tepoztecan categories: monte, *texcal*, *cerros*, *terrenos cerriles*, and *terrenos de temporal*. Each of these land types, with the exception of the *cerros*, plays an important role in the Tepoztecan economy. Their distribution is shown in Fig. 4. The approximate area of each of these land types and their uses are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Tepoztecan Land Types and Land Uses.

Land Types	Land Uses	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte	Lumber, firewood, charcoal	45
Texcal	*Tlacolol* (hoe culture), firewood	10
Terrenos cerriles	Grazing, *tlacolol*, firewood	18
Cerros	Some grazing and *tlacolol* but mostly of no use	12
Terrenos de temporal	Plow agriculture	15
Total		100

The foregoing data are based on a survey made by the writer with the aid of Tepoztecan informants. A survey of the land resources of the municipio made by the Departamento Agrario in 1937 agrees quite closely with our own study (see Table 2), except that the categories used in classifying the lands are not those used by Tepoztecans.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the forest lands and grazing lands together account for the largest portion of the lands of the municipio, approximately sixty-three per cent. The agricultural poverty of the municipio as well as of the village of Tepoztlán can be seen from the fact that only about fifteen per cent of the total land area is available for plow agriculture. Furthermore, most of the cultivable land is highly eroded and of poor productive quality. Tepoztecans distinguish three

[8] The flora of the *texcal* consists primarily of *huaje blanco—Leucaena* (Leguminosae); *copal—Elaphrium* (Burseraceae); *Cazahuate—Ipomoea* (Convolvulaceae); and *palo mulato—Elaphrium* (Burseraceae).

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134 types of categories of cultivable land according to productivity. The distribution of these land classes is shown in Fig. 5.

311 First-class land produces an average of about two *cargas* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This is by far the best land, and it is located in the valley bottoms where seasonal streams bring down the rich fertilizing materials from the monte and forests. The soil on this land is dark brown to black. Less than five per cent of the land of plow agriculture is of this type. Second-class land produces on the average of one *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This land slopes more and is more eroded; it accounts for about forty-five per cent of the cultivable land.[4] The soils are sandier and vary from light brown to reddish. Third-class lands produce on the average of about one-half a *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted, and account for another forty-five per cent of the cultivable land. These lands have the steepest slope and are the most [172] eroded. It is on these lands that rock terraces, said to be of pre-Conquest times, are used to prevent the complete washing away of the soils. The soil on this land is yellowish and very stony. Frequently the rock-bottom *tepetate* is only a few inches from the surface. (See Fig. 6.)

TABLE 2. Land types and areas according to agrarian Census of 1937.

Land Types	Areas (in Hectares)	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte Alto	11,400	44.0
Monte Bajo	5,750	22.0
En cerril accidental inútil para la agricultura	3,010	11.0
Terrenos de temporal de primero	675	3.8
Terrenos de temporal de segundo y tercero	5,075	19.1
Total	25,910	

361 631 From the foregoing materials we can see that the municipio of Tepoztlán is not a single natural or geographic unit.[5] Hills and mountains break it up and form barriers between the villages. Thus Tepoztlán is separated from the village of San Juan to the north by one group of hills and from San Andrés to the southwest by another. Santo Domingo, to the southeast of Tepoztlán, is nestled high up in a pocket in the mountain wall and is more or less isolated from all the other villages of the municipio. Only three of the villages, Ixcatepec, Santiago, and Tepoztlán 312 proper, are located within a single valley and drained by the same stream. The re-

[4] Although there is some evidence in early sixteenth-century documents examined by the writer which points to a greater productivity of the land at that time, it is interesting to note that the description of the lands of the municipio in the first land title of 1548 describes the lands as rocky, sterile, and ill suited for agriculture. Furthermore, the greater portion of the lands was described as "sitios de ganado menor" and "sitios de ganado mayor" which may indicate that the Spaniards viewed the land resources of Tepoztlán as best suited for grazing.

[5] Redfield's references to the municipio as "a natural community" and as a "valley community" tend to give the municipio a geographic unity which it does not in fact have. Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 39. [114]

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Fig. 5. Land classes, municipio of Tepoztlán.

312 maining villages must depend upon springs which in some cases are a mile distant.
631 The fact that the municipio has existed for hundreds of years as a political and social entity in the face of this lack of geographic unity raises interesting questions which will be discussed later.

THE VILLAGE

133 Centrally located within the municipio, and nestled in a broad alluvial valley
361 surrounded by hills and massive rock outcroppings of fantastic and beautiful for-